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THE TIMES!

OR

THE FLAG OF TRUCE,

DEDICATED TO THE

Cabinets at Washington and Richmond,

By a White Republican.

When Liberty is dethroned, Citizenship is at an end

RICHMOND:

RITCHIE & DUNNAVANT, PRINTERS

1863.



*George Washington Flowers  
Memorial Collection*

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## THE TIMES!

The condition of our country and the progress of our time bring home to every reflecting mind consequences that outweigh the existing estimates of civilized life. History affords no parallel equal to the present condition of this our land and country. Sages and savans for ages to come, may toil in the fruitless endeavor to solve the questions which that condition involves. A people, inhabiting in peace a country with prosperity unequaled and influence unbounded, wrecked in desolation from inability to meet that diversity of opinion and interest which is ever the universal behest of Heaven to make the efforts of man effectual to secure the ends of life.

We find ourselves to-day environed by consequences fatal to the United States as a nation, and alike portending evil to the whole country, with the greatest of questions unsettled—the momentous question of peace or war.

Contention and strife rob nations; desolate lands once fair and fruitful; and we are left to recoil from the frightful ravages made by man upon his fellow. Did it stop here, we might theorize upon the common casualties of life. But nature, in our civic immaturity, produces an abortion, contrary to the human instincts, since the first innate principle of being is *self*. The brute protects its own, but man, a patrimony of Heaven, robs nature and gives death to life. Brother is arrayed against brother, and father against son, and this for what? To establish right? Then the great innate principle of all life is wrong, for self-protection is the first law of being. A monstrous wrong is war:

*First—Because all men are opposed to being themselves injured.*

*Secondly—It leads to the injury of some other one equally entitled to the benefits of life and liberty.*

If need be we would say, we are commanded when smitten on one side, to turn the other; but we are no apologists for such a

doctrine, seeing it would annihilate the very instincts of nature, as manifested in all the animal creations, from the greatest to the least. And what is true of an individual, is equally so of a nation ; for individuals are the stars that form the handiwork of its greatness, as drops make the ocean, and sands the shore. Reason, judgment, justice and virtue—peace, prosperity, human hope and happiness—all make the common weal of both men and country.

Is it not strange that there is never contact, but passion, prejudice, suspicion, fancied injury, revenge and jealousy—all form the elements of destruction, while on them is based, at least, the apparent weal or woe of mankind ? Our once common nation is now convulsed to its very centre. From within and without comes the fearful cry of mighty wrong. Justice has been fledged of her birth ; duty forgotten ; humanity dead, and the creature of passion (war !) roams with the velocity of lightning over every recognized right of freemen ! Loss, bordering on perdition, unless the supremacy of truth can wave her extended arm around the sorrowing hearthstones, and make glad the home of the brave in the freedom of its right.

There is a time in the history of nations as well as in the experiences of men, when we are called upon to pause and reflect. With duty upon the one hand and infinite destiny on the other, we are ever made triplicate to the great creation around us. We cannot shun the responsibility to God, self and country, if we would, even though slaughtered millions lay at our beck, for an infinite destiny marks upon our hand the future results of its time.

All history, of which man has knowledge, all time, all nations and every manner of people, may summon together their substance of life, and the war cry is ever heard. Desolation and blood have been the passports to eternity. And why is this ? Is it a part of nature ? Is it that creature and creator are at war ? Is it that God is avenged on the work of his own hands ? Or is it not rather the failure to appreciate and apply the consequences resulting from what every heart's sigh deifies as wrong ? To take that, the life of another, to say nothing of the commands every christian people profess to reverence as the sum of divine authority, and which say “ thou shalt not kill ; thou shalt not steal ”—

it is a parody upon human reason and recognized right; a falsity in nature, a truism in God. We must master the one, or succumb to the other.

Thinking and reflecting minds would say, that justice should form an equipoise between differences of whatever nature. Man should not abolish reason, and substitute passion. Life should not become death to arbitrate the rights of the surviving; for when dead, the exercise of this principle is supplanted in God. But human nature is averse to war. Human hope is opposed. All experience answers in the dreadful notes of its calamitous bearing upon the great good of all people. Still its ill effects desolate the earth, and make man a murderer and an outcast? Do you ask why? We readily answer:

Because your nation is *false*: because the highest incentives known to the human heart are foisted into the hypocritical arena of conscience: because man is dead and insensible to the living light of his own soul: because *civilized* and *christianized* people call upon their God to help them murder, while daily repeating the commands, "thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal," and while singing paeans to the praise of that inspiration which says, "when smitten on one cheek, turn the other." And all this for the glory of Heaven, and the humanizing influence of this enlightened and christian people, while days are appointed for thanksgiving and prayer to ascend to Heaven in adoration to the same great dispeuser of human events over your slaughtered brothers! Creature and Creator are thus brought in contact!

Again, it hath been said, "a house divided against itself, cannot stand;" but christianized humanity calls upon its God to minister an unsparing hand, and desolate the creature of his own making! Such is the life we inherit to-day.

But while stating these plainest of facts, it is not our object to grieve over the past. Let us be benefited in the future. Must the sad realities of war ever visit us? Must murderous death and relentless desolation ever be our portion? Yes—so long as we are insincere and false to the first principles of life. But if reason is above passion, right above wrong, we have a basis of action upon which all differences of opinion as well as interest may find an easy solution. It is strange and has no parallel, when men,

will pause and reflect, that these great questions of national good and enduring right have not met with their just estimate. Liberty is more than oppression. The distinction that forms the inevitable consequences of desolation, is so plain that none need mistake it, were they free to do so. It is the misapplience, the disorganized relation of that evident principle that regulates the destiny of individuals as well as nations, that brings upon us the fearful consequences of dissolution, both civil and military. The system of the United States government is imperfect, disjointed, and the consequence is as saddening as the defects are palpable and plain. Why not then remedy the evil by a final dismissal of the ends and acts that destroy it? But it is equally applicable to all conditions of human kind, be they high or low, great or small. Climate and country enjoy the universal behests of time and condition, all subservient to natural law, so that man as man, may be made partaker of a common bounty as extended as life and as universal as God, and still we seem inadequate to their benign administration.

I need not traverse back o'er the past, nor measure the diversified conditions of human life. Neither is it necessary to follow the rise of empires or the decay of nations. All are alike, and no one forms an exception to the inexorable law of desolation. Yet, humanity has but one God, and justice one trust—the dispenser of universal good to the race. Clothed with the inalienable rights of conscience, makes us men to subserve the ends of life, and prepares all for its natural diversity. We cannot ignore these stubborn facts; and when duly considered, they must lead to beneficial results.

I would propose there should be no more war. Stranger than fiction, says my friend, such a proposition. In the diversified condition of humanity, war is an inexorable necessity. As men are now constituted, they must be governed with might. No rule could adapt the conditions of man to the estimate of peace. Its standard would be too high to render full and adequate justice to all men. We will see. If there is a universal law of life, there is a universal conformity to the conditions of that life. To say there is not, is to say it does not exist. What those conditions are, is the problem of humanity, and the life throes of nature have paid the

debt thrice over, and still they will not be heard. Forensic eloquence in the halls of your nation, has been as clods upon the conscience of our people, and it has drenched humanity with the subterfuges of life.

My hope of human happiness and eternal good rises not with the dust of battle and the din of arms. But my thoughts and feelings rise to a just estimate of the condition of all men, whether noble or ignoble, so called. We must ever rise above the condition of conflict, to find a recipe for its benefit. Fancied interest, party or prejudice, must be laid aside. A more extended view of life and its benefits demand our recognition, before we can be equal to their ultimate condition.

There is no diversity of opinion as to the frightful slaughter of our people. There is but one song of lamentation and sorrow that sweeps o'er this once happy but unfortunate country. The results of war, and the admitted casualties incident to it in the most favorable aspect leave but one breath, and that of sorrow and dismay. Such being the case, may we not hope for a brighter day? May we not look for the morn of life, whose kindred emotions shall swell the heart in harmonious strains to one universal God, whose precept and practice will not accord its hallelujahs for brothers slain? But how is this to be attained? When men come to recognize that right is above might. Because I have the physical ability to do you bodily harm, it does not follow that I have the right to do it. But on the contrary, having the ability, is the infinite reason why it should not be done. Learn this of nature and her God; and do not pray him to become a party *criminis* to the hellish deeds you would hold for your adversaries. But feel there is a principle above the right and the wrong—for even the right is a secondary clause in the apocalypse of nature—and that is *yourself*, the creature; and you are brought in contact with the condition; and if not above that condition of antagonism, you will never be equal to it for good. Consequently, man should live a life of precept and principle, recognized in the great chart of humanity, to escape all wrong and inspire every action to the consummation of all good. To do this, it is not necessary to confine ourselves to that paraphernalia of thought limited by our special views of propriety or people. We must study the great lesson of

nature or humanity, from its unbounded diversity. A universal principle incapacitates no people from its beneficial results. If we cannot humanize and fraternize upon a mere question of life and death, God forbid that we should still call ourselves *christianized*; for until this is done, these abortions of nature cannot become so secondary in their influence as to enable us to realize this hope for the good of man.

I might well propound, Is there one thing on earth, one hope of Heaven, that will warrant us in the belief from which recognized humanity will not dissent? I ask the question, Is it wrong for one man to take the life of another, to redress his grievances? I ask it in principle, I ask it in theory, and I ask it in fact. Why all civilized countries answer that question most emphatically by rule and order, to set aside passion and frenzy and distribute justice, dignified by laws, courts and governments. If it is wrong in an individual, it is equally so in a nation. And if we judge of the enormity by the effect—and it is for this exigency all law is required—it is greater, aye, more than greatness itself.

Look at the desolate hearthstones in this once happy land. Made so by any part or action of theirs? No! Thousands of exceptions of this kind, weigh with the weight of eternity upon the administrative policy of the existing government. Its enormity is beyond comprehension. Why? The innocent too often suffer while the guilty repose at ease. With results so fatal to the peace of man, the individual is made a party in his own condition, undesired, unsought. Thus the nation makes her difference, wielded by the omnipotent arm of power, injustice to all. The widow and the orphan; the maimed and the wrecks of humanity become her inheritors for the proud task she displayed in her misdirection.

Then I would propose, *that we have war no more: and peace universal should be the triumphal car in which all diversities, in sober thought, might ride triumphant throughout the land!*

If it becomes necessary to have a judiciary or the recognized forms of law for the purpose of adjusting the differences among men, is it not equally necessary to have a tribunal equally effective in purpose among nations? An answer in conformity to this is well established in what is called international law. But this

international law as yet is but a sparrow upon the hawk; the great bugbear of freedom, human liberty and constitutional right; I care not what the varied forms of government are, there is a settled principle of right that demands a recognition universal. The essential element of all government is life. Then it should be protected; not left to diplomatic intercourse and the etiquette of courts. Such mushrooms grow in a night, and fortunately for human interests, fall in a day. How, then, shall we proceed to effect what humanity most needs? To do this, we have to go beyond courts, and even country, and stand upon a platform of universal right. That right in God we ever have. Not to subvert the Creator's will and wisdom by taking that we cannot give, that we may inherit ill abroad and discontent at home, but to live a life of peace and good will to men. Who is there, then, that will object to this? None! Let us, then, come to the confines of the grave, and bury forever the war cry upon our brothers, and cultivate those great principles of love and justice to our fellow-men, by doing to others as we would they should do to us; by abolishing the war code from the statutes of nations, all breathing alike a healthful enthusiasm of life, justice and truth.

Trust and confidence would inspire mutual respect. National greatness would be goodness. All would seek to emulate those principles they now call upon their God to destroy. I summon all prejudice, passion and power to do away with an example so worthy as the one which I propose for the universal benefit of all. Not one dismembering the fixed conditions which have been the status of country and court, leveling all the prominent obligations of life and liberty thereto, but establishing these.

I charge all nations with an absorption of the true elements of their nature. It is sucking the life-flows of its own existence; demoralizing and deadening its influence, and bringing to decay its own greatness, so long as the fundamental law of life is unheeded. It is a plain demonstration; it requires no thought, what I propose for the subjugation of this great error, WAR. The infant mind can comprehend it. It is a part of ourselves that respects it. What is it, then?

I propose that every nation shall disarm, beating their implements of destruction into instruments of construction, by mutual

consent. And why? Because their use subverts the true principles of life. Because their use and maintenance is an inversion, opposed to the Creator for the destruction of his creatures. Because every impulse of humanity is opposed to war. Because every legalized and recognized nation on earth opposes in principle and practice its exercise, by law and order, in the civilized walks of men. Nations should not practice of themselves what they condemn in the individual sources of their existence.

But I am told that the natural relation of state to state and country to country, requires these mutual defences for their own good; for that mutual protection of interest allies their very existence and being as a people. As a counterpoise, we may add that every nation requires and must maintain this inherent principle or self-existing power, in order to subjugate those differences of opinion and interest that might naturally accrue as the out-growth of a great and mighty people. We admit this might be so, or is so. All countries have their diversities, their peculiar interests and institutions, that should be fostered with paternal care. We will not encroach upon the aggrandizement of a nation or the well-being of any people, but we will substitute right for might. We propose, therefore,

*First—One grand council of all the recognized nations on earth. Secondly—I would propose that each nation be equally represented, independent of condition or country, great or small. Why? Because right is not measured by might, nor by wealth, fortune, power, extent of country or influence. Were it a local or temporal interest, it should be measured, or represented by its effect, as fifty men would have a greater interest than one man. But all men have an interest in life and death, and the question we are considering is war.*

That council should be the sole arbitrator of the differences among all nations and all peoples. Their decision to be final, and beyond reclamation. Any nation dissenting from its decision to be considered the enemy of mankind, and at war with the combined world. This will in effect enthroned reason and right in the place of passion and power. It would lead to the demolition of the nations' God; that is, the ability of each to do the other the greatest harm. Human language is insufficient to express the

benefits to be derived from such a course. The human mind cannot enumerate the sum total that would be saved by the existing powers of the earth, in abolishing all the means and artifices of war. The sums now expended would feed, clothe and educate every subject of their respective governments. Thousands, nay, millions of men taken from the ordinary channels of life, would be restored to their country and their God. For all such are alienated from the Creator by the unholy art and artifices of war.

Were we to leave out the horrible consequences of war in all their details, and present it only as a financial consideration, there is not one like it on earth. Talk of acquired greatness by the success of arms. It is a lullaby to destruction and a fallacy. For the means expended would honorably acquire and make tenfold greater acquisitions of empire and state than the combined armies of the world. For such successes have only been the transient sunbeams of the hour—they passed away. All history accords this to have been the fate of nations by-gone. Where are they? Mouldered and faded away. There is, then, a living principle and an eternal right, that should actuate every bosom and freshen every impulse for good. This principle we propose for the pacification of all nations.

Now, what objection have we to offer? What sacrifice is to be made? None! There is none! It is a plain principle of right on the one side and might on the other.

If nations were like the sun, never vacillating—a fixed fact—we might hope for the end of strife; that some power might be supreme, final, universal. All history, all time accords the fact that they are vacillating, so as one ascends above the other, mutual jealousies arise, and destruction with a hoary hand strikes death and desolation. Cannot this be averted?

Well, then, let us look at all its aspects. We may say, that our institutions are peculiar, not consonant with the forms of government in the olden world; that we vary; sympathies and institutions at variance with our friends. We must be exceedingly jealous, or they will conspire to our ruin. Now, this is a fallacy. Nothing more than the shadow to the substance; a subterfuge to beguile a thought, an appeal to the lowest passions of man. Do not these nations exist now as they would then? Could not they combine

to subvert our institutions, overcome and subjugate our country more easily being armed, than without arms? Are we willing to admit that we can live with them when we are equal in emergency armed, but are unable to do so unarmed? Where is the difference? The supposition that we jeopardize our country, our liberty, is a fallacy in this view. Then let us meet the facts as they are, and stand forth as the great galaxy of stars that o'er-span and reflect upon the vast congregations of man alike for that universal boon, *freedom*.

National or international law would not have a place for intrigue and corruption. Boundaries as definite as time and as solid as eternity, would mark the future era. Man would stand forth unsubjected to the wholesale destruction of human life. He would not be in antagonism to the Creator and creature, but a part of the fundamental law of right.

There is none so prejudiced, so insane, as to be willing to even risk his convictions of duty and sense of right upon a matter of interest, and refuse to submit to arbitration. While these plain and ostensible facts come home with an appeal so calm and dispassionate that none can dispel them, why may we not be free from the greatest of all horrors? What so easy, so plain, so well defined, as might be the province of this council? Our nationality, all law, internal or otherwise, would be secure; our commerce, universal; why, it would be an expansion of the heart, an opening of the soul; a truth deified in God, *that all men dwell together in unity*.

The unmeasured diversity of human interest ever brings man in contact with his fellow. To conciliate and harmonize their just and equal differences, becomes the great part we have to act in life. Country and condition, the essential elements of greatness, broad and expansive, buried as are their forms, require at least an exhibition in accordance with their true merit. To measure these true diversities and paramount interests for individual good, we have to step aside from the localized ideas that surround any nation as a people, and breathe the healthful influence of common confidence and trust.

We, as a people, have ever held paramount and sacred our interest, at whatever cost. We have fostered and chided in the

same breath. Interest and temporal aggrandizement has been the star in midheaven upon which we, as a people, have ever gazed with idolized affection, independent of the consequences reflected from our action thereunto.

We must, now, become cosmopolites, laying aside party or faction. In other words, we must be freemen. To be so is not an isolation; for we cannot be free ourselves, without according it universally to our fellow-men. The depth of soul or the measure of conscience is no safeguard to eternity, when its demoralizing influence, with a trespassing hand, wipes the escutcheon of divinity, to obliterate a trust made sacred by Heaven. Man with his fellow-man talks of freedom, and banishes the idol of oppression, by lifting high in lofty measure the strains of conscience, and calls God to be the rectifier, the distiller of events that must supersede all. Why is this? Because his creed is a selfish one, guided by arbitrary rules and decrees of fate. Because desolation broods by day and solaces by night his thought for the condemnation of his fellow. Because the Christian's God is a respecter of persons and a revenger of wrong, according to the localized idea. Because time has chronicled fortune and misfortune as her birthright. Because antipodes throw their shadows o'er the pathway of human events. Because life and death—two measured sentinels on the charts of time—hasten on the events that are coming.

Is God a jealous God? The evil propensities of the human heart that generate such a reflection, weigh as an incubus upon our birthright. Is God no respecter of persons? Then why cry to Him aloud to be avenged of your enemies? Why not strike at the fundamental principle of all wrong, and set at right and bring home to the inner man these exiled affections of the human heart. Thus we may know that we have one Creator, who loves his creatures; one duty and destiny inspiring honest effort for good. No exiles to punish nor sorrows to cast away; but feeling the emotion of a true and rightful allegiance to an Infinite Cause, we may be prepared to be equal partakers of the bounty universal.

Peace and war is the fratricidal harem where is established that idea that overthrows all right, and where death maintains its supremacy at whatever cost. The inalienable right of men has but one significance, and that is the truth it bears for good, and that

can be perpetuated only by the true source of all life individually considered. Individuals make the drops that form the great life-currents of the mighty ocean of suffering and wrong. Individual actions are the sources from which spring the great rivers of humanity that flow into the mystic ocean where dread and dismay accords a fate so universal. Temporary influence has acted and reacted upon the great throes of nature, and still are they ever convulsed. And why? Because we are not in sympathy with one accord, feeling for good. Jealousies and immunities depose each other, and throw us into the great whirlpool, absorbing and overriding each feeling expressed beyond a limited degree of finite action.

Why are we as a people at war to-day? Why, living as we do, under every *professed* obligation of duty, are we so averse to each other? Why have we left the old landmarks, and launched our barques upon this boisterous ocean of discontent, that only too well suffices to bury our all? Was it the oppressor's hand? No! Was it conscience? No! What was it? 'Twas because man had but one eye and saw nothing. It was because man was indifferent to the great interests committed to his care. It was because nature was throttled and impeded in her onward way. It is because nature is not tied down. Because man is not equal to this great diversity of sentiment and feeling prevalent in this our land and country. It is because the great ocean of eternity does not form its base in a consolidated idea at Washington. Nature is averse to an aristocracy. The little stream flows as sweetly and as musically as the mighty ocean in its furious roar. One does not impede the other, but they mingle together in harmony. Nature's vine-clad hills and snow-capped peaks form a unity in unlimited diversity. A patrimony of Heaven to all alike equal. Our people have failed to discriminate and maintain an equipoise in the great balance that time is weighing for the future, and the result is before us. The burning sands of the southern shore and the ice-clad hills of our northern border are antipodes. Neither fortune nor misfortune is the possessor or dispossessor of these events. But we are mutual partakers of each—and is it not our province to estimate them for what they are? Is not the vegetable and the animal kingdoms as different as a black man and a

white man in their two extremes? Can any government or policy erase these decrees of nature? Neither can any government efface the results of this day or the stubborn decrees of fate that await its decay, unless they add the broad *ad infinitum* that underlies the basis upon which this fabric of nature rests.

The innate principle of man is consistent, though to a great extent in an imperceptible degree. For you will find that he adapts himself to extremes of whatever kind. He does not clothe himself in the sunny shade as in the boisterous north. He adapts himself to the stupendous condition that brings all within his circle of extent. But our government has legislated with but one idea independent of conditions localized. It has gone to extremes, not measuring in its capacitative form that spontaneity of character and culture that is ever inevitable.

We speak of "union," of unity. There is unity in nothing only as it exists in diversity. The unity of my body is in the free exercise of each limb thereof. Not that one part is the other, but each different in its use and effect—all one combined whole—a natural diversity with a distinct unity. So with any government, I care not what may be its behests. Whenever it restrains the natural, the free, the spontaneous action of its parts, it deadens the impulse of the whole. For example: while the animal and vegetable world in the north differs from the south, experience ever tells you it would be fallacy to cultivate and propagate their elements with success out of a given latitude. When nature differs in her variety so marked, shall we suppose that in that which is greater than the animal and vegetable world there is insensibility to these universal behests of nature in man? The forms of thought and order like those of the animal world, subserve their time in accordance with their capacity for perpetuity and growth. And, I ask, are they fit subjects to order and ordain for that to which they are averse by the natural ties of growth and life? So do institutions and countries differ. And so is it with men, all blending together in the universal and eternal.

What hope have we outside of the immutable, from which man ever cometh, to which he ever tendeth? What hope has any people outside of the natural elements of which they are composed? According to the influence of climate and condition, is

the unmeasured variety. Then let men be willing to let others enjoy what they have of the same right divine. It is the failure of this thought in our government, that has lost to us the peace we had. It is the narrow-minded and contracted views of right that have been measured by every door sill, not knowing that God in humanity dwelt as much without as within their own scanty habitation. It is this view that makes two contending parties, brothers by nature, call upon the same God for desolation to each. Where is the soul so lost to a human view, that with impious thought could look thus to its God, and not fail to recognize in its fellow-man the creature of His hand? When will reason, when will right usurp the power over wrong, and enthrone on judgment's high seat the equal desert of each—who blasphemers the nature he bears, when in holy condolence he prays and grieves over his slaughtered dead? What hell so low is there to bury an inconsistency so foul as this mockery of virtue, truth and right. This is the christian's God; the nation's fall and humanity's blight. Rather let hell usurp the throne, than such prayers meet their recompense and reward.

We have viewed at some length the discrepancy arising from the varied conditions of men—their solid imperfections in government as well as in individuals. And in scanning their results, our object has been to awaken some thought that will arise above the present unhappy condition of our country. In doing so, we are compelled to hold out the differences that exist, in such a manner as to be able to appreciate the inextricable difficulties into which we have been forced as a people.

In the first place, no army, however victorious, ever settled the true questions of difference which led to the fatal results of war. The taking the life of one man or of millions; the expenditure of one dollar or the impoverishing of a nation, has never affected the cause of difference, nor made it right or wrong. It is justice and judgment, or that which too often supersedes both, namely, power, that settles these differences. If the latter, it is that which should ever add shame to the victor. If the former, it is that which ever existed, ere the death notes were heard in the land; and they come as the return of spring after the desolate winter of war has laid its unwelcome hand upon the innocent and confiding. Why,

then, cannot man look in the face the plainest of all facts, the result of such a demolition of nature as war ?

What means the proffered offering of a foreign power of mediation ? Were it accepted, does it remove the mistaken causes which have led us to desolation and death ? Are not the same questions now to be settled that existed before ? Does not that very act, or its proposition, say, in tones of clearest light, that passion and frenzy ruled the day ? Does it not say, or appeal in significant terms to that which is mightier than nature, reason and judgment, that we may have peace ? And I ask every recognized conception of man, whether or not we are not like two mighty animals goring each other to death ? Can justice apportion to each any thing more ? And the proposition for interference amounts to a cessation of strife till their blood may cool ; that the consequences of an effect so monstrous and hideous may be seen in its true light ! This is the highest and most elevated plain upon which our country stands to-day, and its natural surroundings are evident to all men of common sense, who allow justice and peace to ascend above passion and prejudice.

But that we may have all that can be possibly claimed for those who advocate the existing conditions of national defence and glory, so termed, we would say let the existing government that overthrows or displaces its opponents, propose to all to disarm and return to reason, to adjust upon nature's broad platform, the differences that will still exist. I stop not to dilate upon the moral grandeur of such a spectacle. I simply appeal to the existing good sense and sound principles of our people, ere another departure overthrow us forever. But we do not wish to confine ourselves to our own condition as a special application or object ; for were we to do so, it would be entitled to a twofold bearing, from the fact that one party requires simply to be let alone, and the other, the aggressor, at least so far as the finale of life and death is concerned, is intent on conquest and power—but we will take any two contending parties, separate and distinct powers, not questioning their differences or difficulties, allowing it to be sufficient that they exist. One subdues the other. Does it lead *ad vertum* to the result, that the power failing to succeed is wrong ? Does it affect the principle of justice recognized among men ?

Does it confirm or destroy the principle of right? That either party would be ashamed to own. Then, how fallacious, how foreign to the true instincts of mankind, to your own country, is the use of force?

Is there any basis of observation that would allow a great nation, because it has the physical ability, to crush a lesser one? Does that establish right and ignore wrong? Not at all. 'Tis a suicidal policy, averse to the dictates of the conscience, and a dead letter in the alphabet of being. Is it that nations have more confidence in might than they have in right?—who profess to be so tenacious of their honor, and still allow the *lie* to be sanctioned with the blood of their fathers, and deified on the tombs of their sons! And can they still cherish a love for war?—or would they not rather seek those natural defences born on high to rule upon earth, that good will may be cherished among men?

The existing condition of armed protection all see is an admission of national falsity in practice, and should be abandoned. Whenever disturbances become evident, they should be placed in the balance, and justice awarded where duty ordered. It is clearly proven that no amount of life or treasure expended affects the relation of opposing powers, of whatever degree. It is, then, to the pen, to the head, the heart, the conscience and duty we owe to creator and creature, to admit the results that have weighed, like a mighty incubus, upon the great family of man, and say, *that war shall be no more.*





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